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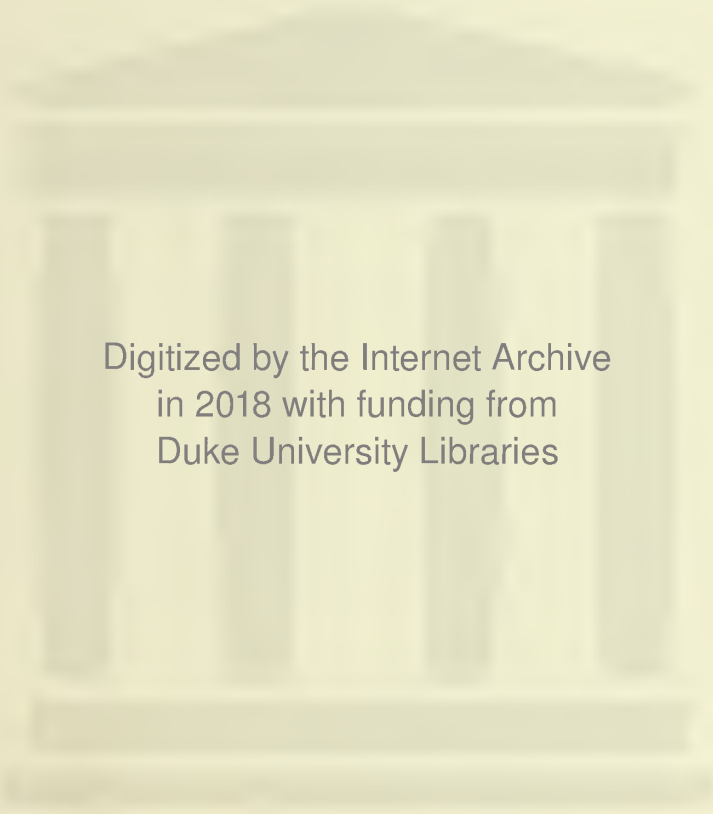


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LOUIS DEMBITZ BRANDEIS
1856-1941

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LOUIS DEMBITZ BRANDEIS

LONG before his death, Louis D. Brandeis had become a tradition both in American life and in the Zionist movement. About his name and personality there had accumulated a mystical aura. He stood in an historical perspective even while he was contemporary. The seclusion forced upon him by his membership in the Supreme Court stimulated the growth of legends and anecdotes about him. An unconscious tribute of this nature has in this instance mitigated the profound sorrow which inevitably followed on his death. Already in his lifetime he had been possessed by the ages.

The name of Brandeis is second to none in the list of those who have placed the impress of their genius on the development of American jurisprudence, particularly our constitutional law. His contributions to law, economics and social science will be long remembered by Americans generally; his services to the Jewish people will never be forgotten by American Jews, and especially by American Zionists. And even in the sphere of his specifically American activities, although his approach was "new" and "modern," his inspiration was derived from his spiritual ancestors, the Prophets of Israel, with their passion for justice and righteousness. For this reason it is difficult to dissociate the Jewishness of

Mr. Justice Brandeis from his secular legal and judicial career. This memoir will seek to deal with his relationship to Jewish life and thought, but even such specialized treatment will be understood only when it is realized that his life as a whole knew no contradictions or conflicts, but was built on a definite single pattern of consistent ideas and ideals.

I

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS was born in Louisville, Kentucky, on November 13, 1856. Of his early years we know little except that he lived the normal boyhood of a child of a well-to-do family, and that the bitter struggle between slave and abolitionist sentiment in his native state preceding and during the Civil War made a deep and vivid impression upon his young mind. His education in a private school was supplemented by travel abroad and by a short period at a German academy, where his free spirit rebelled against the strict discipline of that institution.

In 1877 he was graduated from the Harvard Law School with an extraordinarily brilliant record, and began the private practice of law in St. Louis. Beckoned, however, by friends and associations in Boston, he soon returned to that city, where he lived for close to forty years until his appointment in 1916 to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States.

He achieved professional distinction early. The law firm with which he was associated represented many large corporations, and his practice was highly lucrative. He did not permit this fact to influence his personal code, however, nor his evolving conception of justice and right. Thus, while his firm handled cases for life insurance companies,

he campaigned against certain questionable practices of these concerns, and advocated the establishment of savings bank life insurance for the public benefit. While he was acting as the legal representative of railroads, he publicly attacked certain policies of one of the most powerful systems as inimical to the interests of the people. He resigned as attorney for the largest shoe machinery company in the country and attacked it as a monopoly. At his own expense he served as counsel to establish the validity of such progressive legislation as the statutes fixing maximum working hours for women and establishing minimum wages for employees. It was this active interest in the rights of the inarticulate common man, which he defended against highly organized predatory interests, that won him his popular title of "the people's attorney."

Indeed, it is rather remarkable that his social ideology and liberal outlook developed as they did. Prosperity came early to Louis D. Brandeis; he moved in the circles of his wealthy professional colleagues. He was secretary of the Boston Art Club and a member of a fashionable boat club; he was associated with a society polo group. That a man in this environment, and subject to these influences, should become a champion of the downtrodden, a pioneer of social security, an exponent of broad democracy, is evidence of unusual character.

It was not strange, therefore, that Woodrow Wilson's appointment of Brandeis, the first Jew to be named to sit on the bench of the United States Supreme Court, did not go unchallenged. All the reactionary elements which had been exposed or attacked by "the people's attorney," together with many misguided individuals, joined in the hue and cry to prevent his confirmation by the Senate. In

replying to the opposition to Brandeis, President Wilson said: "He is a friend of all just men and a lover of the right; and he knows more than how to talk about the right — he knows how to set it forward in the face of its enemies."

After protracted and heated debate, Brandeis was seated in June 1916. His judicial interpretations of the Constitution during his twenty-three years on the Supreme Court and his concept of the living and developing law have already made history. The basic principles which found expression in his legal and judicial career provide a key to his character and to an understanding of the consistent pattern of his interests and ideals. To him law was made to serve the people, not the people to serve the law. Neither was law drawn only from precedents. It was drawn from the living, breathing reality of men and women who sought to live together in peace and understanding. He was willing to strike out in uncharted fields to find adequate solutions. Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School, in his memorial address before the Brandeis Lawyers Society of Philadelphia, said in this regard: "There is no better justification of the significance of the right of freedom of expression to the maintenance of a civilization that would base itself upon the rationality of mankind than his closing sentence in *New State Ice Co. vs. Liebman*: 'If we would guide by the light of reason, we must let our minds be bold.' "

As lawyer and as judge, Brandeis introduced the method of using scientific data furnished by the sociologist and economist, and sought to have the law keep step with the march of time as reflected in the living conditions of men and women. But many of his briefs and decisions were also based on the importance and value of human intangibles.

In one of his notable opinions he wrote: "The makers of the Constitution undertook to secure conditions favorable to the pursuit of happiness. They recognized the significance of man's spiritual nature, of his feelings and of his intellect. They knew that only a part of the pain, pleasure and satisfaction of life are to be found in material things. They sought to protect Americans in their beliefs, their thoughts, their emotions and their sensations . . ."

II

THE story is told, whether factual or legendary, that shortly after President Wilson had appointed Brandeis to the Supreme Court, a friend said to the President: "Isn't it a pity, Mr. President, that a man as great as Mr. Justice Brandeis should be a Jew?" Instantly the President replied: "But he would not be Mr. Brandeis if he were not a Jew."

The causal connection between the Jewishness of Brandeis and his unique contributions to American law and jurisprudence is obvious. His passionate devotion to the welfare of the underprivileged and the dispossessed, of those who were denied that equality of opportunity which the founders of our Republic had intended all Americans to share; his yearning to make the life of the average individual, the little man, the forgotten man, more significant, more worth living; his battles, as lawyer and as judge, against economic tyranny in every form; his conviction that true democracy demands equal economic opportunity no less than equal political rights; his deep human sympathy; his gallant championship of American ideals of justice and righteousness — all these are identical with traditional Jewish ideals, which he derived from his Jewish background, from those common

group memories and from that special aptitude in the field of social justice and ethics which he called "the Jewish heritage."

At first glance it would seem that Brandeis's acceptance of Zionism was a decision of the mind and not of the heart. There are some Jews who are brought to a realization of the Jewish problem by personal difficulties, large or small, — exclusion from a country club, discrimination in some more shocking form, or a violent contemporary outburst of anti-Semitism. Hurt, baffled, for the first time conscious of his insecurity, the individual seeks an answer. There was no such personal frustration in Brandeis's case. In every sense he felt personally secure; yet his keen, logical mind, when brought to bear upon the problem of the Jewish people, quickly grasped the basic elements of the question, and he was enabled to see beyond his own personal needs and desires. His mind grasped the significance of ancestral influences which his heart was prepared to receive.

His early Jewish education was scanty and his contact with the Jewish people remote; his accurate appraisal of the facts of Jewish life is therefore all the more remarkable. It might almost be said that in his first approach it was his instinct asserting itself — an instinct which was not wrong. That he believed there existed a "Jewish instinct" or an unconscious affiliation of the individual with his people, is revealed in one of his comments. "Let us not imagine that what we call our achievements are wholly or even largely our own," he said. "The phrase 'self-made man' is most misleading. We have power to mar, but we alone cannot make. The relatively large success achieved by Jews, wherever the door of opportunity was opened to them, is due, in the main, to this product of Jewish life, to this treasure

which we have acquired by inheritance, and which we are in duty bound to transmit unimpaired, if not augmented, to coming generations."

Beneath the surface of his success as lawyer it was soon obvious that Brandeis was a product of Jewish life, and that the Jewishness of his ancestors operated through him. It is interesting to note that his maternal uncle, Lewis Naphthali Dembitz, a leading lawyer of Louisville, was a Jewish scholar of rare distinction, the writer of most of the articles on legal subjects in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, and also the author of an authoritative volume on the synagogue service. Young Louis Brandeis must have been a great admirer of his uncle, for though his original name was Louis David, he early adopted the name of this favorite relative, and when he entered Harvard Law School it was as Louis Dembitz Brandeis. And it should not be forgotten, to quote Emerson, that "every man is an omnibus on which all his ancestors are seated."

It is impossible to ascertain just when his Jewish consciousness began to manifest itself. His biographers relate that some time in the nineties, while in the west, he wrote his wife commenting favorably on the plan to rebuild Palestine. At any rate, not until 1910, when he was already 54 years old, is there available recorded evidence of his feelings on Jewish subjects. In a newspaper interview published on December 9, that year, Brandeis said of Zionism: "I have a great deal of sympathy for the movement and am deeply interested in the outcome of the propaganda. These so-called dreamers are entitled to the respect and appreciation of the entire Jewish people."

The same year, Brandeis first came into contact with the laboring masses of American Jewry and saw for himself

their material poverty amid their potential spiritual richness. On the occasion of the New York garment workers' strike in that year, he served as the impartial chairman of the Arbitration Board, and he successfully negotiated a novel compromise plan which has been regarded as epoch-making in the development of American trade unionism. This intimate glimpse of his fellow-Jews among the employers and the employees in the garment industry made him at least an interested auditor when Jacob de Haas poured into Brandeis's ears the story of the Herzlian solution of the problem of the homelessness of the Jewish people. De Haas was one of the founders of Zionism in England, had known Theodor Herzl, had attended the first Zionist Congress at Basle, and was then the editor of an Anglo-Jewish publication in Boston.

There followed a period of absorbed study of the Zionist movement and its implications for Jewish life. He read everything within reach on the various aspects of the Jewish problem. Then, in March, 1913, came his first public participation in Zionist activities, when he served as chairman at a reception in Boston for Nahum Sokolow, one of the outstanding leaders of Zionism, who was then touring the United States for the cause. In the course of his brief remarks, Brandeis said: "The great message that Mr. Sokolow brought to Boston may sometime become a reality, and the Jewish people may establish the national state that they have aspired to and longed for so long The task ahead of them is to make this Zionist ideal a living fact."

It was after the outbreak of the World War in 1914 that the major responsibility for the continued existence of the Zionist movement had to be taken over by American Zion-

ists. The Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs was organized in August of that year, and Brandeis accepted the chairmanship of that Committee and the leadership of the movement. He took charge of Zionist administration, wrote a number of articles and addresses, and made a tour of a number of American Jewish communities in an effort to enlist their support for the Zionist cause.

Frequently, in these addresses, Brandeis pointed out that there are two aspects to the Jewish problem, that of the individual Jew and that of Jews collectively. He asserted on one occasion: "Jews collectively should likewise enjoy the same right and opportunity to live and develop as do other groups of people. This right of development on the part of the group is essential to the full enjoyment of rights by the individual." Seldom has there been so concise and so comprehensive a statement of the principle on which Zionism is based.

To Brandeis, Judaism was a way of life which should be preserved. "Death," he wrote, "is not a solution of the problem of life," and those who advocated assimilation, either by conscious pursuit of such a policy or by neglect of the Zionist-survivalist project, were actually un-Jewish. Zionism, according to Brandeis, aimed not only to rebuild the Jewish homeland in Palestine, but also to rebuild the Jewish people, to reconstruct Jewish life wherever Jews live.

He was especially interested in the work of those individuals who went to Palestine and assumed the personal burden of restoring the Homeland. The hardships which these pioneers endured were not in the nature of a misfortune; they were, rather, priceless character builders, he felt. These men were struggling toward an ideal of social perfection;

they were evolving a cooperative commonwealth within which the individual citizen may best develop a creative, a self-respecting, a worthwhile personality. And he had "no fear of the Arab or of any other question," because he knew in his heart "that Jewish qualities are qualities that tell." Not long before he passed away he made a special contribution to Hadassah to establish playgrounds for the joint use of Moslem, Jewish and Christian children in the Holy Land. This was in accordance with his frequently expressed view that "prosperity for Palestine must mean prosperity for all classes of its inhabitants. No one who has been in Palestine can doubt that the Arabs have been greatly benefited by what the Jews have done there." In a letter to this writer, dated December 12, 1939, Brandeis wrote: "In the whole world, nothing finer, nothing nobler, is being achieved than by the young men and women in the agricultural settlements in Palestine."

Brandeis urged that the chief bulwark against spiritual and moral deterioration of the Jews of America is to develop in them, particularly in the educated Jews, the sense of *noblesse oblige*, a sense which could best be achieved through active participation in the Jewish renaissance through membership in the Zionist Organization. This conception of Zionism — far different from mere philanthropic pro-Palestinism — is all the more noteworthy in that it came from one who, as we have seen, had not been brought up in an intensely Jewish environment, and from one who had never been affiliated with that most ancient and most authentic of all living Jewish institutions, the Synagogue. Here was a demonstration that one could become a devoted Zionist by force of conviction, logic and reason, as well as through sentimental and emotional attachments and loyal-

ties. And here too was another classic demonstration of the redeeming power of Zionism.

There was, of course, nothing new in his conception of Zionism. Others before him had given expression to the same ideas, both with regard to the solution of the Jewish problem, and with regard to the social ideals of Zion reborn. But the manner in which he found the answer provides a further illustration for the words he used in 1916, following an address by the Rev. William Blackstone at a Zionist convention:

“Those of you who have read with care the petition presented twenty-five years ago by the Rev. William Blackstone and others, asking that the President of the United States use his influence in the calling together of a Congress of the nations of the world to consider the Jewish problem, with a view to the giving of Palestine to the Jews, must have been struck with the extraordinary coincidence that the arguments which the Rev. Blackstone used in that petition were in large part the arguments which the great Herzl presented five years later in setting forth to the world the needs and the hopes of the Jewish people. That coincidence, the arguments presented in America, arguments later presented by Herzl without knowledge of the fact of what had been done in America, shows how clearly and strongly founded they are. They come to all men who will regard in a clear and statesmanlike way the problems of the Jewish people.”

It has been frequently pointed out that Brandeis came to his Zionism via his Americanism. His faith in human freedom, his belief that the principles of the Declaration of Independence applied to all men and women and children everywhere, his passion for justice and righteousness, all these led him to espouse the cause of Zionism which was

the application of these principles to the solution of the Jewish problem.

In fact, Brandeis saw in Zionism the means of realizing in Palestine more quickly and more completely those social ideals that America has striven, and is still striving, to make real. The advantage Palestine enjoys, he thought, is its relatively limited area. It is not too big for social and economic experimentation. Nor are there in Palestine powerful vested financial interests to impede industrial democracy and cooperative effort. He even conceived the very details of Palestine's upbuilding in American terms. The *Halutzim* (Jewish pioneers) were to him "our Jewish Pilgrim Fathers." And when he described the aridity of undeveloped Palestine, he referred to the experiences of the Puritans who upon landing at Plymouth met stony soil upon which they eventually founded a nation. And in the practical working out of Zionism, Brandeis urged that the movement be organized democratically and efficiently according to well-tried American methods.

He spoke of democracy on the American scene; he indicated the need for the same in the Jewish community. His sympathies were with the little people, the underprivileged and dispossessed, and who have been more often and more continuously dispossessed than the Jews? Brandeis attempted to apply the principle of democracy to Jewish life in America. He was chairman of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee which in 1916 led to the convening of the first American Jewish Congress in Philadelphia. He believed that there was need for a democratic body to express the will of the masses of American Jewry. In the field of relief work and in other matters affecting the Jewish people as a whole, he felt that the direction should come from

the Jewish masses themselves. He was opposed to "secret diplomacy" or policies of evasion and indirection. "Secrecy," he wrote, "necessarily breeds suspicion, and creates misunderstanding."

It would not be fair to say that Brandeis created any new concept of Americanism, but undoubtedly he did define and clarify American democracy. He rejected the "melting pot" theory of Americanism, and advocated what has come to be known as "cultural pluralism" or "cultural democracy." The term he gave to what he regarded as the essential feature of true Americanism is "inclusive brotherhood." In his famous Fourth of July address, at Faneuil Hall, Boston, in 1915, he declared: "America, dedicated to liberty and the brotherhood of man, rejected the aristocratic principle of the superman as applied to peoples as it rejected that principle when applied to individuals America has believed that in differentiation, not in uniformity, lies the path of progress.

"The movements of the last century have proved that whole peoples have individuality no less marked than that of the single person, that the individuality of a people is irrepressible, and that the misnamed internationalism which seeks the obliteration of nationalities or peoples is unobtainable. The new nationalism adopted by America proclaims that each race or people, like each individual, has the right and duty to develop, and that only through such differentiated development will high civilization be attained."

Brandeis further elaborated upon his concept of the distinction between nationhood and nationality in one of his most comprehensive statements on Zionism, entitled "The Jewish Problem — How to Solve It," where he wrote:

"Likeness between members is the essence of nationality; but the members of a nation may be different. A nation may be composed of many nationalities, as some of the most successful nations are. An instance of this is . . . the American nation. The unity of a nationality is a fact of nature; the unification into a nation is largely the work of man. As a nation may develop though composed of many nationalities, so a nationality may develop though forming parts of several nations."

Thus he reached the conclusion that Zionism, far from being inconsistent with American patriotism, is actually, for the Jew in this country, the inevitable consequence of true Americanism.

"Multiple loyalties are objectionable only if they are inconsistent," he declared. "A man is a better citizen of the United States for being also a loyal citizen of his state, and of his city; for being loyal to his family, and to his profession or trade; for being loyal to his college or his lodge . . . Every American Jew who aids in advancing the Jewish settlement in Palestine, though he feels that neither he nor his descendants will ever live there, will be a better man and a better American for doing so."

These phrases have been quoted frequently, and yet it is still necessary to repeat them. Brandeis, too, realized the inability on the part of some Jews to think clearly on the subject, and he emphasized the fundamentals. "There is no inconsistency between loyalty to America and loyalty to Jewry," he said, and proceeded to indicate the positive affinity. "The Jewish spirit, the product of our religion and experiences, is essentially modern and essentially American. Not since the destruction of the Temple have the Jews, in spirit and in ideas, been so fully in harmony with the noblest

aspirations of the country in which they lived." Zionism could not be divorced from this Jewish spirit because the two were identical.

Brandeis believed that Zionism was truly based on American ideals. To him, as to Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, to Charles W. Eliot and John Dewey, the spirit of American democracy could best be nourished and our national achievements could best be enriched, if each nationality, each religious or cultural group, would develop to its utmost capacity, thus giving to American civilization its multiformed and multi-colored beauty and richness. He therefore declared: "Loyalty to America demands that each American Jew become a Zionist."

If the Zionist ideology of Brandeis was not novel, and if his conception of Americanism was not new, it was Brandeis's articulation of the synthesis of the two that will rank as his greatest contribution to American Jewish life.

From 1914 until his death, Brandeis's participation in Zionist work was whole-hearted and enthusiastic. Throughout the years of his service on the bench of the highest court of the land, he maintained a close and personal interest in the Zionist movement. Even after he withdrew from official leadership of the Zionist Organization of America in 1921, after an internal controversy between a group led by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Dr. Shmaryahu Levin and Louis Lipsky, on the one side, and a group led by the Justice, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Judge Julian W. Mack, Professor (now Mr. Justice) Felix Frankfurter, Jacob de Haas and Robert Szold, on the other, Brandeis never failed to renew his annual membership in the Organization. His financial contributions to Palestine, frequently anonymous, were munificent, and he bequeathed a considerable portion of his residuary estate to

Jewish Palestine. But these pecuniary benefactions were, of course, relatively far less significant than his self-dedication to the cause of Zion's rebirth; and once having found "Zion," he never for a moment forgot it.

III

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS created no voluminous literature. We find occasional public testimony at hearings, magazine articles, legal briefs, addresses on Zionism, a few pamphlets, many letters, numerous judicial opinions, so often in the minority in those early years. These writings, limited in extent though they are, are rich in profound, incisive thought, clearly and compactly expressed.

His greatness is not to be found, however, in his utterances or writings. It was in the man himself, in his unique personality, that there were indefinably epitomized a school of thought which may be labelled "American" and also a philosophy of life which may be called "Jewish," and it was in his very being that these two — Americanism and Jewishness — were synthesized. And just as there are those who still lag behind his juristic, social and economic pioneering, there are also those who have not yet attained his acute perception of the essence of American democracy and of what he liked to call "the Jewish spirit."

He was simple and unassuming. He eschewed all ostentation. His home in Washington, his summer cottage in Chatham, on Cape Cod, were unpretentious, even austere. Lavishness and gaudiness, display and extravagance were hateful to his orderly mind. His humble surroundings were reflections of his character, for his personal manner, too, was reserved and unassuming. He was never reluctant to admit

his own shortcomings, and when taking over leadership of the American Zionist movement, he declared publicly: "I feel my disqualification for this task. Throughout long years which represent my own life I have been to a great extent separated from Jews. I am very ignorant of things Jewish"

His simplicity, however, never partook of asceticism; his reserved demeanor and impassive attitude were never cold or unsocial. Rather were they marks of the control and discipline which he exercised over himself. He had genuine warmth and a sparkling personality, as those who had occasion to meet with him frequently have reason to know. Visitors to the Brandeis household were always touched by the considerate and affectionate relationship which obtained between the Justice and his charming wife and companion (who before her marriage to Mr. Brandeis in 1891 was Alice Goldmark) and their two daughters. Included in his long and crowded daily schedule, beginning soon after sunrise, there was always time set aside for his grandchildren with whom he loved to play and discourse.

Genuinely, and in the full meaning of the word, he was a leader, in that he was far removed from the trivial, the shoddy, and the mean in Jewish life and affairs. He was ever direct in speech, appreciative of loyalty, and tolerant of differing views. Indeed, his role in American Zionism was not always calm. There were interests and views which he felt called upon to combat, and he had the courage of his convictions. But he was blessed with the ability to remain above the petty strife which appeared to consume many about him.

It has frequently been noted that Brandeis had a passion for facts and that he was meticulous about details. Above

all he was ever a pragmatic realist. It was his grasp of realities which made him insist on improvement of health and sanitation conditions in Palestine as a prerequisite to nation-building. He knew that a nation could not be built on a malarial swamp, that the first step must be the eradication of endemic sicknesses. And so he was keenly interested in the medical organization of Hadassah.

For two thousand years there had been dreams and visions and hopes. This time the Jews must deal in substantial and material things. He thought in Herzlian terms and used Herzlian language, and all his plans had a Herzlian swing. There were some dreamers who were disappointed in him because he kept his feet on the ground, and because he failed to soar with them; they thought he was lacking in the sentiment or the spirit of Zionism. But for all his realism and pragmatism, there were spiritual qualities which likewise possessed him, though perhaps they defied definition. Many a man upon first meeting the Justice, felt that there was something hauntingly mystic about his eyes and his voice, that he saw things too deep for mere expression in words.

Many American Jews could not understand him, for here was a man who quoted the Bible, Ahad Ha-am, Herzl, who referred to Aaron Aaronsohn, Ben Yehudah, and who, on the other hand, quoted Seton-Watson, W. Allison Phillips, Carlyle. He was a synthesis of two worlds. All his life represented the achievement of syntheses, and the reduction of conflicts. Many found it difficult to reconcile social reform and capitalism in his career and in his beliefs. This was because he freed himself from the encrusted meanings of those terms; he did not allow his actions to be influenced by connotations of words which foster prejudices. He was an

attorney for business, but not for the evils of big business. He was a champion of labor, but was opposed to a dictatorship of labor as much as to a dictatorship of high finance. He was interested in, and to the end of his life supported, Hashomer Hatzair, a left-wing Zionist group, while at the same time he helped found the Palestine Economic Corporation, and played an important role in the encouragement of the investment of private capital in Palestine. His stand was not inconsistent, because he saw these groups as different facets of the same country. A liberal in the modern economic sense of the word, he was not a Marxist. He was a believer in the system of private enterprise, though he felt that there were evils in the system which had to be corrected. He was a meliorist with the obstinate idea that change, both in American life and in the Zionist movement, must be based upon a realistic appreciation of facts.

Americanism and Zionism were inextricably interwoven in the fabric of the life of Louis D. Brandeis — a life which to the end was true to its pattern.

In announcing the death of Justice Brandeis, which occurred on October 5, 1941, Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone made this brief, formal statement to the Supreme Court of the United States:

“Learned in the law, with wide experience in the practice of his profession, he brought to the service of the Court and of his country rare sagacity and wisdom, prophetic vision and an influence which derived power from the integrity of his character and his ardent attachment to the highest interests of the Court as the implement of government under a written constitution.”

This great tribute may, in all humility, be freely adapted to the Jewish side of his life: Conscious of the problems of

the Jewish people, he brought to the service of his fellow-Jews "rare sagacity and wisdom, prophetic vision and an influence which derived power from the integrity of his character and his ardent attachment" to the cause of the survival of his people as a free and normal group among the families of mankind.

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